

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 KHARTO 00175 241331Z  
ACTION IO-13

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IO HELMAN FROM MAYNES

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR US OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SOME OBSERVATIONS BASED ON AMBASSADOR  
YOUNG'S TRIP TO AFRICA

REF: MAPUTO 600

1. WE MAKE THE FOLLOWING BRIEF OBSERVATIONS ON NAMIBIA, PER  
YOUR REQUEST.

2. LARGE NUMBER OF AFRICANS FULLY SUPPORT CONTINUED EFFORT  
ON OUR PART REGARDING NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT. IN ADDITION TO  
MODERATE STATES, KEY COUNTRY TANZANIA ALSO IS VERY SUPPORTIVE.  
VIRTUALLY EVERY MEMBER OF THE TANZANIAN DELEGATION HAS  
REPORTED TO US THAT NYERERE IS INFORMING HIS COLLEAGUES THAT  
HE SUPPORTS OUR EFFORTS. THE ZAMBIANS ARE A MORE DIFFICULT  
PROBLEM. ZAMBIAN UN AMBASSADOR KAMANA IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND FEELS THAT OUR INITIATIVE HAS FROZEN  
THE COUNCIL OUT. THIS FEELING MAY EXPLAIN RELATIVELY CRITICAL  
STATEMENT MADE AT MAPUTO BY FOREIGN MINISTER MWALI (REFTEL),  
ALTHOUGH MWALI CONFIRMED TO MAYNES IN LUSAKA THAT ZAMBIANS  
WANT US TO PRESS AHEAD. NIGERIAN UN REP HARRIMAN EXPRESSED  
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PAGE 02 KHARTO 00175 241331Z

SATISFACTION TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG OVER TURNHALLE DERAILEMENT  
BUT FOCUSED ON (A) RELEASE OF SWAPO PRISONERS, (B) WITHDRAWAL  
OF SAG TROOPS AND, (C) NATURE OF INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE  
AUTHORITY. THE POSITION OF SWAP AND MOST RADICAL STATES IS  
TO DOUBT WESTERN MOTIVES BUT SAY THAT THEY DO NOT OBJECT TO  
OUR GOING AHEAD WITH FURTHER TALKS WITH SAG.

3. WALVIS BAY IS AN ISSUE THAT NEARLY OBSESSED THE AFRICANS AT MAPUTO. THE WESTERN FIVE ARRIVED RELATIVELY UNCONCERNED ABOUT THIS ISSUE. BUT THE AFRICANS ARE CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN HAS SOME SINISTER PLOT AT HAND TO DISMEMBER NAMIBIA. WE SHOULD BE SENSITIVE TO THIS ISSUE.

4. MAPUTO ONLY REINFORCED THE VIEW THAT TIME IS SHORT ON NAMIBIA. THE TOGOLESE FOREIGN MINISTER PROBABLY EXPRESSED THE VIEWS OF MANY AFRICANS WHEN HE TOLD AMBASSADOR YOUNG THAT THE AFRICANS UNDERSTOOD THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD TAKE A LITTLE LONGER BUT THEY REALLY BELIEVED THAT THE WEST COULD SOLVE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM QUICKLY IF IT WISHED. IN FOCUSING ON A SOLUTION MOST AFRICANS IDENTIFY SAME THREE KEY ELEMENTS AS HARRIMAN'S: THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AND THE NATURE OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY.

5. ANOTHER CONCLUSION THAT EMERGES FROM MAPUTO IS THE NEED FOR US TO LOOK AGAIN AT OUR POLICY ON ARMS EMBARGOES. ANYTHING WE COULD DO TO TIGHTEN UP THE EXISTING EMBARGO IN THE SO-CALLED "GRAY AREAS" MIGHT HELP TO REDUCE THE MOUNTING PRESSURE FOR EARLY ACTION ON A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. ONE COULD ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD MOVE NOW TO A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AS MUCH AS WE HAVE IMPOSED A VOLUNTARY EMBARGO SINCE 1963. BUT WE MAY NEED THAT TRUMP CARD IN THE MONTHS AHEAD AS PRESSURE MOUNTS FOR US TO TAKE STRONG ACTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. FURTHER STEPS IN THE VOLUNTARY FIELD COULD HELP PRESERVE THAT CARD. IN THAT REGARD, WHILE THE UNILATERAL US EMBARGO IS FINALLY ACKNOWLEDGED BY AFRICANS, THE PERFORMANCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 KHARTO 00175 241331Z

OF THE OTHER ALLIES IS NOT ACCURATELY KNOWN, RAISING THE COMMON REMARK THAT THE US MIGHT BE FAITHFUL TO THE CAUSE, BUT IT IS STILL UNWILLING TO USE ITS INFLUENCE AGAINST OTHERS IN THE WEST WHO ARE NOT PLAYING FAIR. IT IS TOO LATE TO OVERTAKE THE IMAGE THAT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY AFRICANS, BUT WE SHOULD DO OUR BEST TO ENSURE THAT OUR ALLIES ARE WORKING AT THE PROBLEM - AND WE ALL ARE MAKING FACTS IN THE ARMS SITUATION BETTER KNOWN.

6. THE AFRICAN SUSPICION OF BRITISH MOTIVES IS NOT A NEW OR UNKNOWN FACTOR, BUT IT WAS BROUGHT HOME TO US TIME AND AGAIN WITH A FORCE AND CLARITY WE HAD NOT PERCEIVED BEFORE. WE ARE REPORTING SEPTTEL ON CONVERSATION WITH AHTION WITH AHTISSARI THAT CAUGHT SOME OF THE THEMES WE HAVE BEEN HEARING. BOGOSIAN

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